

CONFIDENTIAL

161616
MDADAN 6515

FLASH

CONFIDENTIAL

FM BONN

TO FLASH FCO

TELNO 218

OF 201150Z FEBRUARY 90

INFO FLASH DUBLIN

INFO IMMEDIATE UKDEL NATO, WASHINGTON, PARIS, MODUK

INFO PRIORITY MOSCOW, EAST BERLIN, BMG BERLIN

ADVANCE COPY

SIC

DUBLIN FOR SECRETARY OF STATE'S PARTY

MODUK FOR PS/SOFS, DUS(P)

OUR TELNO 207: GERMAN UNIFICATION: FUTURE FORCES IN EAST GERMANY

SUMMARY

1. GENSCHER AND STOLTENBERG AGREE THAT IN A UNITED GERMANY NO BUNDESWEHR FORCES, WHETHER ASSIGNED TO NATO OR NOT, SHOULD BE STATIONED IN TERRITORY OF TODAY'S GDR. SUGGESTED QUESTIONS TO PUT TO GENSCHER IN DUBLIN.

DETAIL

2. FOLLOWING THE DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN GENSCHER AND STOLTENBERG ON FUTURE FORCES IN EAST GERMANY REPORTED IN TUR, KOHL SUMMONED BOTH MINISTERS ON 19 FEBRUARY TO THE FEDERAL CHANCELLERY. GENSCHER AND STOLTENBERG IN DISCUSSION WITH SEITERS REACHED AGREEMENT ON A JOINT STATEMENT WHICH LARGELY QUOTED FROM KOHL'S STATEMENT TO THE BUNDESTAG OF 15 FEBRUARY (BONN TELNO 192). STOLTENBERG AND GENSCHER CONFIRMED THEREIN THAT KOHL'S STATEMENT THAT NO UNITS OR INSTALLATIONS OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE WOULD BE MOVED FORWARD TO THE TERRITORY OF TODAY'S GDR ALSO REFERRED TO ALL BUNDESWEHR FORCES - WHETHER ASSIGNED TO NATO OR NOT. THE STATEMENT ADDED THAT THE SECURITY-POLITICAL STATUS OF THE AREA OF TODAY'S GDR IN ALL ITS ASPECTS WAS TO BE CLARIFIED WITH THE FREELY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT OF THE GDR AS WELL AS WITH THE FOUR POWERS WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR GERMANY AS A WHOLE. THE JOINT STATEMENT REPRESENTS A CLIMB-DOWN BY STOLTENBERG. ON 16 FEBRUARY HE HAD SAID IN A PRESS STATEMENT THAT THE SIZE AND STRUCTURE OF GERMAN TROOPS IN WHAT IS NOW THE GDR WOULD NEED TO BE DISCUSSED, ALTHOUGH HE RULED OUT GERMAN TROOPS THERE COMING UNDER NATO CONTROL.

3. A SECOND ELEMENT OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GENSCHER AND

STOLTENBERG, WHICH HAS RECEIVED LESS ATTENTION THAN THEIR DISPUTE OVER THE STATIONING OF THE BUNDESWEHR IN TODAY'S GDR, APPEARS HOWEVER TO HAVE BEEN LEFT UNRESOLVED. IN HIS 16 FEBRUARY STATEMENT STOLTENBERG SAID THAT ALTHOUGH RESPECT FOR THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF GERMANY'S NEIGHBOURS MEANT THAT NATO FORCES SHOULD NOT BE EXTENDED EASTWARDS, THERE WOULD NONETHELESS BE AN OBLIGATION TO PROTECT ALL GERMAN CITIZENS. THIS OBLIGATION WAS INDIVISABLE AND APPLIED TO THE WHOLE OF GERMANY. THIS MEANT THAT THE PROTECTION AFFORDED BY ARTICLES 5 AND 6 OF THE NATO TREATY SHOULD APPLY TO ALL GERMAN TERRITORY.

4. GENSCHER RESPONDED TO THIS IN A RADIO INTERVIEW ON 17 FEBRUARY BY SAYING THAT PEOPLE IN THE GDR SHOULD NOT LIVE WITH LESS SECURITY THAN OTHERS, BUT THAT THEIR SECURITY COULD BE GUARANTEED BY EAST-WEST SECURITY AGREEMENTS. IN THE SAME INTERVIEW GENSCHER REJECTED THE PRESENCE OF GERMAN TROOPS IN TODAY'S GDR AFTER UNIFICATION BY SAYING THAT IT WAS A MATTER OF CONCERN FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THAT NEGOTIATIONS TO ACHIEVE GERMAN UNITY SHOULD PROCEED WITH AS FEW COMPLICATIONS AS POSSIBLE. NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE FOUR WOULD BE COMPLICATED ENOUGH WITHOUT INTRODUCING THE QUESTION OF EXTENDING GERMAN MILITARY PRESENCE EASTWARDS. GENSCHER REFERRED TO WESTERN AGREEMENT THAT THE NATO AREA AND NATO JURISDICTION SHOULD NOT BE EXTENDED TO THE EAST. THIS SHOULD NOT BE UNDERCUT BY THE STATIONING OF GERMAN FORCES IN THE GDR WHICH WERE NOT ASSIGNED TO NATO. GENSCHER ALSO SPOKE IN SUPPORT OF THE CONTINUING PRESENCE OF US FORCES IN WEST GERMANY.

5. STOLTENBERG'S OFFICE ARE SAYING THAT THE KEY WORD IN THE JOINT STATEMENT IS 'BUNDESWEHR', IE THE PRESENCE OF GERMAN FORCES IN THE OLD GDR, BUT UNDER A DIFFERENT NAME, IS STILL NOT RULED OUT. BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER GENSCHER ACCEPTS THIS SEMANTIC POINT. HIS OFFICIALS NOW SAY THEY DO NOT KNOW WHAT GENSCHER'S VIEWS ARE ON THIS QUESTION. THEY DO NOT RULE OUT THE PRESENCE OF SOME GERMAN FORCES (EG A REVAMPED EAST GERMAN PEOPLES ARMY, BUT SAY THAT THE IDEA OF STATIONING BORDER TROOPS, WHO ARE SUBORDINATE TO THE FEDERAL INTERIOR MINISTRY, HAS NOT EVEN BEEN DISCUSSED. THEIR INTERPRETATION IS THAT STOLTENBERG GOT OUT IN FRONT AND HAS BEEN REINED IN BY KOHL AND GENSCHER: THEY DO NOT WANT THESE DELICATE ISSUES DISCUSSED IN PUBLIC AT PRESENT, WHILE THE PROSPECTS FOR THE INTERNAL ASPECTS OF THE UNIFICATION PROCESS ARE STILL UNCERTAIN.

6. THE JOINT STATEMENT DOES NOT MENTION THE FUTURE APPLICABILITY OF ARTICLES 5 AND 6 OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY. STOLTENBERG HAD STATED CLEARLY THAT IT WAS IN GERMAN INTEREST THAT THEY SHOULD APPLY

TO THE WHOLE TERRITORY OF GERMANY. GENSCHER'S OFFICIALS SAY THAT GENSCHER HAS TAKEN NO (NO) POSITION ON THIS, BUT THEY FEEL THE ''TENDENCY'' IS THE SAME WAY. (WE KNOW THAT RELEVANT MFA AND FDP OFFICIALS SHARE STOLTENBERG'S VIEWS).

COMMENT

7. OBSCURITY PERSISTS ABOUT SOME OF THE DETAIL AND THE FEDERAL MINISTRY OF DEFENCE ARE TRYING, UNSUCCESSFULLY, TO PUT A CONSTRUCTION ON WHAT HAS HAPPENED WHICH MINIMISES STOLTENBERG'S DEFEAT. HE MANOEUVRED BADLY (''SMOKING GENSCHER OUT'' IS THE STORY). THE OUTCOME IS A CRUCIAL CONCESSION TO GENSCHER: WHILE THE PRECISE WAY IN WHICH ARTICLES 5 AND 6 OF THE NATO TREATY MAY BE APPLIED TO GERMANY STILL REMAINS OPEN, THE OPTION OF HAVING THE BUNDESWEHR STATIONED IN THE EX-GDR IN PEACETIME APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN CLOSED OFF. THIS IN TURN SHIFTS THE GROUND ON WHICH THE DEBATE WITHIN GERMAN MINISTRIES ON FUTURE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS FOR A UNITED GERMANY TAKES PLACE, IN A DIRECTION WHICH IS UNWELCOME TO US. IT IS LIKELY TO BE THE STARTING POINT OF THE FRG POSITION PUT TO THE ALLIES. IN CLOSING DOWN DEBATE, IT IS WORRYING THAT KOHL SHOULD APPARENTLY SO READILY HAVE SIDED WITH GENSCHER ON THE SUBSTANCE.

8. ACCORDING TO HIS OFFICE, STOLTENBERG INTENDS TO EXPLAIN THE POSITION DURING THE IEPG LUNCH ON 21 FEBRUARY, AND WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR DISCUSSION WITH MR KING IN THE MARGINS AT GLENEAGLES. HIS CALLS ON YOU AND THE PRIME MINISTER WILL ALSO PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES TO QUIZ HIM.

9. IT IS BEING PUT ABOUT THAT GENSCHER DID NOT WANT THE ISSUE VENTILATED IN THIS WAY. IN DUBLIN YOU MIGHT ASK HIM

- WHETHER HE ENVISAGES THE PRESENCE OF ANY (ANY) GERMAN FORCES IN THE FORMER GDR, AND IF SO WHAT SORT?

- WHETHER HE BELIEVES THAT ARTICLES 5 AND 6 OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY SHOULD APPLY TO THE WHOLE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED GERMANY.

MALLABY

YYYY

CONFIDENTIAL

161616
MDA 6515

DISTRIBUTION

13

ADVANCE 13

.BERLIN/INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS
.(WIDE)
PS
PS/PUS
MR P J WESTON
MR RATFORD
HD/WED

HD/SOVIET
HD/NEWS
MR S MCCARTHY SEC(NATO/UKP)MOD
WG CDR ANDREWS DCTS NATO MOD
PRESS SECRETARY NO 10
MRS GLOVER LEGAL ADV

NNNN



PAGE 4
CONFIDENTIAL